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Hunting.

224 Every Bemba is a hunter by desire and enthusiasm, but in actual fact game is not now very plentiful in the area—a situation for which the white people blame the black and black the white. Whether there has really been a considerable change in the supply of game since the coming of the European I do not know. White men certainly use more powerful weapons than the muzzle-loading guns imported by Arabs in the early days, and motor traffic through the country scares the buck near the main roads, but at the same time natives are not allowed to hunt elephant, hippo, and a number of the larger buck which were formerly available for them. It can only be said with certainty that hunting is a traditional activity which has its roots in the past, and that natives still look back to a golden age of plentiful game. Although meat does not now contribute largely to the people's diet, yet the Bemba still speak of hunting constantly, surround it with magico-religious rites, attach to it a special mythology, and spend a good deal of their time on it. It was interesting to note that in the copper belt many homesick recruits describing their tribal villages in glowing colours, ended with: 'And we hunt there every day'. In actual fact no Bemba does hunt daily or anything like it. The statement merely showed how their imaginations still lingered round their days of enjoyment in the village. Like the sportsmen of this country, they enjoy a day's shooting even if it brings little or no results, and I should prophesy that they would pursue an inedible animal with the same ardour and endurance as the European chases the fox.

[463] The existence of specialist hunters and organized hunters' guilds has been described as characteristic of the Central Bantu, to which group the Bemba belong.[1] At present such guilds no longer exist in this area, although Melland has recorded their presence among the neighbouring Alunda.[2] Hunter magicians, that is to say skilled hunters with magic powers which give them rights of leadership or a monopoly over resources, exist as they do in many other Bantu societies,[3] and their position corresponds to that of the fishermen

224 791

[1] Cf. p. 18.

[2] F. H. Melland, op. cit., p. 267.

[3] Cf. Junod's account of the *maphisa* or specialist hunters of the Thonga, and the special villages of elephant and hippo hunters he also mentions, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 59, 68. Also Doke, op. cit., pp. 321, 325.

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magicians already described. Both are known as *ifibinda*. But naturally these specialist hunters are not common nowadays, since game restrictions prevent the killing of elephants—formerly their chief pursuit.

Every form of hunting has magic rites connected with it. Each hunter or setter of traps has his own charms (*ubwanga*) designed to make himself invisible, to draw the game to him, to slow its power of movement, &c. The animals themselves are thought to have magic attributes. Parts of their skin or bones are used as activating principles (*ifishimba*) in many charms or medicines, and many of them can only be hunted or killed after special ritual precautions have been taken to protect the hunter. All animals that attack or kill mankind are grouped in a special class known as *ifiswanga* (sing. *iciswanga*). These include the lion, leopard, cheetah, crocodile, hyena, or poisonous snakes, &c., and all these species are considered to have magic properties and to require ritual handling. Other animals are described as being *ifibanda* (sing. *icibanda*) or haunting spirits, or else are thought to turn into *ifibanda* when killed, and they are feared on that account. The bush-pig, bush-buck, hippo, rhino, eland and ant-bear are all *ifibanda*. Akin are the unlucky animals, e.g. those with the bottom teeth projecting or appearing first (*icinkula*, plur. *ifinkula*)[1] such as the zebra, the eland, haartebeest, or buffalo, which have no upper teeth in the middle of the jaw; the night owl (*ntiti mushi*) or the wild cat. None of these animals may be taken as tribute to a chief or eaten by a pregnant woman.

After killing one of the *ifiswanga* or *ifibanda*, the hunter must purify himself for fear the spirit of the animal will pursue him in dreams, bring him ill luck, or send him mad. This is also true of the elephant. The purification of a lion killer takes place at the chief's court and hereditary officials, the *Bamushika* (Kasenge and Cikutwe at Citimukulu's court), alone have the medicine required to wash the hunter.[2] But less elaborate rites are performed in the case of the leopard, crocodile, the caracal, and a bull eland with thick black tufts on its head. The ceremonies necessary after the killing of an elephant are described below.

[1] Children whose bottom teeth come through first are considered unlucky and are put to death.

[2] The *makaila* or war-song is also sung. I am indebted to Mr. T. Fox-Pitt and Mr. V. Brelsford for much confirmatory information on the magic properties of different animals.

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224
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[411]

Net-hunting. Bringing out the nets.

The nets stretched across the bush ready for a drive.

facing p. 344

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224 All these rites, as well as the common charms for luck in hunting, show the intense emotional interest of the Bemba in this traditional activity, and their alternating sense of hope and fear in the pursuit.

Most types of hunting are non-specialist, and according to the Bemba system of land tenure, any commoner can hunt anywhere in his chief's *icalo* provided he is prepared to give tribute,[1] and except in the case of elephants there are no individual prerogatives over game based on supernatural powers as is the case with the fishermen headmen described. The chief methods of hunting are as follows:

224 776 (*a*) *Net-hunting* (*ukusoa*). This is one of the few communal activities of the Bemba and all the male members of the village usually take part in it. It is reputed to be the oldest method of hunting, and the Bemba places its origin in legendary times. They describe a mythical figure—Kampinda—who was sent by the High God, Lesa, with his wife NaMukonda to teach the old people (*bakalamba*) how to make and use nets. Kampinda is not the spirit of a chief like the other *imipashi*. He just came first (*ukutangila*) to teach the people, just as Lucelenanga, another mythical hero, came to instruct the first doctors in the use of 'medicines'—a fact which seems to indicate that hunting and magic were reckoned the primary arts of this tribe. Small grass shrines are made outside many Bemba villages to Kampinda and his wife, and sometimes also to Mulenga, another hunting deity who is believed to wander up and down in the bush killing game for the people. Any animal found dead in the forest is said to have been struck by Mulenga. These three mythical characters are all spoken of with great affection and no fear. They are often called the *Bafundi*, or expert hunters.

224 787 [791] Net-hunting also provides the oldest and most common form of divination, a preliminary test which can be carried out without the help of a specialist witch-doctor. It is almost invariably used at the present day to decide after the death of a member of a family whether the disaster has been caused by an avenging spirit of the patrilineal or the matrilineal line. If the right words have been spoken at the beginning of the hunt the sex of the animal first killed reveals the secret at once—a female shows that the mother's side is responsible, a male the father's. The method of hunting

[1] Not often exacted nowadays, except in the case of natives who live at the capital (cf. pp. 254).

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224 787 is the same as in the case of an ordinary hunt. The ritual variety is called *ukusoe libanda*, 'to drive evil spirits', and the former *ukusoafye*, 'just to drive'. The test can also be used to determine the guilt of a reputed witch or wizard. Again the words spoken, usually in secret in this case, when blessing the nets, convert the activity into a magic rite. A male animal killed means that *ubuloshi*, sorcery, is abroad.[1] Ritual hunts are also performed in some districts to test the probable prosperity of a new village site, and in this case a female animal is thought to bring luck.

The method of hunting is simple. The headman announces the expedition overnight, and early in the morning each man brings his own length of net (about 21 inches wide and 80 feet long) with a set of sharpened stakes forked at one end to support the top of the net. The nets are then stretched across the bush end to end to make a line some 600 feet long. Each owner stands behind his own net, concealed, if possible, by a tree. The children of the village are then sent out about a quarter of a mile into the bush to beat the game into the nets with boughs and staves. Any small buck which dashes into the net is hit on the head with an axe-handle or else speared. After the first drive the children make a detour and beat the bush on the opposite side of the net. The nets are then moved, and two or three drives of this sort may take place in a day. The whole performance takes place on a very small scale —five or six men are enough to conduct a net-hunt and big communal *battues* of game such as are described in South Africa do not take place, to my knowledge. Net-hunting is restricted to a definite season—the hot weather, after the bush has been burnt.

224 The rules governing the ownership of the meat are precise. The man who kills the buck has the right to the animal, but he gives a leg to the beater who first started the game. But in any case all the men of the village share in the meat meal, and usually eat it together. If there has been unusual success, such as the killing of five or six duiker in one day, the heads of the animals are cooked ritually at Kampinda's shrine. Hence the three clay cooking-stands often found near these small *nfuba*. In this case the wife of the headman cooks the meat and provides the porridge to eat with it, and the men and the children of the village eat together and dance and sing on the spot. I never saw this rite, but was told that it is still carried out in the Chinsali district at any rate.

[1] As also that animal of ill omen, the bush-buck—or *icisongo*.

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224 [777 774] Success in this form of hunting, as in other economic activities, depends on the ancestral spirits in charge of each strip of bush. These can give good or bad luck at will, and if invoked in the correct way will give an answer to their descendants' questions from the bush. The *imipashi* must be called overnight in the headman's hut and before the hunt begins. The people heap up the nets together and a child—usually one of the headman's grandchildren—strikes them with a twig of the magic trees *umufungo* and *umusangati* known as Kampinda's trees. The headman then calls upon Kampinda and his wife, next upon the dead chief of the district, and sometimes also on his own ancestors. I have a number of texts of this sort. For instance, before an ordinary hunt at Kasakatula village, the headman called, 'Kampinda, guardian of the bush, lead on in front of us with your wife NaMukonda. You pierce the undergrowth ahead of us, all you chiefs and you ancestral spirits. Go on light and bright ahead of us and let all evil branches lie down flat in front of us.' And at the same village when the people were carrying out a ritual hunt the nets were struck by the father of the dead child, who cried, 'We are looking for that which troubles us. If that which troubles us has come from your father, let it be a male animal killed. If it has come from your mother, let it be a female. Go on ahead of us.' There is no hunt of either sort in which the spirits are not addressed in some way or another before the nets are set up. Net-hunting is the commonest form of hunting among the Bemba and the least skilled. It has greater ritual importance than any other and on the whole produces more game (cf. figures given on p. 39).

(*b*) *Traps and pits.* Certain types of game and birds are caught in traps and snares. Any one can set such traps and the game killed becomes the owner's property. Trapping is not in any sense an organized or a specialized activity. A variety of such snares exists, but they are mostly found only in good game country, and even then they are only set from time to time. The most common is probably the *icitembo*, a running noose fixed over a small hollow in the ground and attached to a pliable sapling bent nearly at right angles by a rope caught round a notched stick in the ground and fixed by a transverse twig to form a delicate trigger, so that a buck, stepping in the hollow, releases the bent sapling, which immediately springs back to the upright position, pulling the noose tight about its leg. This snare is used for big game like roan antelope, and set

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to protect the millet gardens. The same principle is followed in small snares such as the *namwilindi*, used to catch moles and wild cats round the neck, or for birds. These snares are sometimes baited. Running nooses (*ifiselela*) are set in apertures made in barricades of branches. A log is then hung by a fine bark strand above the only opening in the barrier and attached to a delicate trigger on the ground. A wild pig that touches the latter as it brushes through the aperture releases the rope so that the log falls on to its head. Guinea-fowl are also caught in the same way. Stone traps (*ifiliba*) are used for tiny animals such as rats and moles, a big round stone being balanced precariously by a stick which the slightest touch is sufficient to dislodge. Small wild birds like parrots are caught by small boys who put lime on twigs on which a running noose has been set.[1] The Bemba also used to dig large staked pits (*amacinga*, sing. *ubucinga*), about eight feet deep, into which big game sometimes fell but are now forbidden by the Government to do so on the grounds that a child might fall into such a hole and be killed. All trapping and snaring is carried out sporadically by the Bemba, and it is difficult to believe that this method produces much game. During three years' residence, admittedly not in particularly good game country, I never saw a buck caught in a trap, though I have occasionally been brought snared guinea-fowl. As far as I know there are no religious or magic rites associated with the setting of traps.

(*c*) *Duiker whistle* (*ichinyenye*). Hunters after duiker (*mpombo*) use a small duiker horn with a paper-like membrane, taken from a certain spider's nest, over the aperture. The hunter blows into the horn and produces a short, shrill scream which is thought to imitate the duiker's call. The animal is said to answer the whistle, and the instrument is universally believed in. Its negative results in my presence were always said to be due to the hostile influence of the wrong sex. These horns are doctored by successful hunters, who sell the medicine necessary for their use, and the new owner must address the whistle: 'I got you from X, a famous hunter, by purchase or as a gift (i.e. I did not steal you), so do your duty accordingly. I have rolled on the ground before the spirits, and before Lesa, begging him to give me of his cattle.'[2] The *icinyenye* is therefore definitely a magic whistle.

[1] T. L. Fox-Pitt writes: Pied wag-tail must be released, as they bring bad luck to the village.

[2] I am indebted to the Rev. R. Macminn for this text.

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(*d*) *Spears, bows, dogs, and guns.* The Bemba occasionally hunt in twos and threes with spears and dogs. Trained dogs are very valuable—about 10*s*.—and hard to buy. I never saw hunters go out with dogs, but I know that they are extremely skilful in throwing spears at a distance of about twenty feet, and that they sometimes kill small duiker in this manner. Bows and arrows are carried by very old men only and used to shoot at monkeys raiding gardens. A bow is handed down ceremoniously to a dead man's heir but is not often used in the hunt. It is the ambition of every native to own a muzzle-loading gun, which he can purchase for about 30*s*. and obtain a Government licence to use. Many Bemba still go to the mines for no other purpose than to earn the money for a gun, which seems to promise security and prestige in their old age. However, many of these guns are in fact more deadly to the hunter than to the quarry, since they are rammed with shot, slag iron, and rusty nails till the long-suffering barrels explode. It is unlikely that many buck are killed in this way.

European rifles are owned only by hunters employed by Europeans, or chiefs. The Bemba are said to be skilled trackers and think nothing of spending two or three days in pursuit of game. Game which is killed with a gun is the property of the shooter, to divide as he pleases, after he has given a portion to the nearest headman or chief. There is no special ritual attached to shooting, although the hunter may ask a blessing from the headman if he wishes, and in any case calls on his *imipashi* and carries magic charms.

(*e*) *Elephant hunters.* The Bemba elephant hunters were typical magician-specialists (*ifibinda*), i.e. they possessed both skill and the magic necessary to give them success. Elephants were killed formerly by the aid of weighted spears of specially heavy make by hunters known as *bashimunini*, with dogs and spears and large crowds of beaters by another type of hunter known as *bakalongwe*, or with guns traded from the Arabs by those called *Bafundi*. Nowadays elephant hunters only work for the Government or for certain big chiefs with special permission. The ordinary native is allowed to kill an elephant only when it is actually raiding his garden.

All elephant hunters were under the direct control of the chief in the old days, and he had the monopoly of the ivory so obtained. The chief summoned the hunters, but they were led by the *icibinda*.

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This magician led out his followers when either he or the chief had 'dreamed elephants', after sleeping with their wives with special magic horns placed under the head of the bed. The party was blessed by the chief before leaving, and the *icibinda* carried his magic basket (*icipeshi*), containing charms and pumpkins cut up in small pieces, with him. He also prayed for the blessing of the spirits before the hunt and carried out the necessary magic ceremonies, both before the adventure began and after the animal was killed. Magic assumes a dominant role in this dangerous form of hunting, and both economic leadership and prerogative lies with the man who possesses the required charms. As in the case of fishing specialists, there is a balance of interest between the rights of the chief and those of the *icibinda*. The chief owned the elephants in his district, but he was absolutely dependent for ivory on his specialist elephant hunters with their magic powers.

An elephant hunt sometimes lasted two or three months and the people engaged on them, largely near relatives of the *icibinda*, seem to have been considered as almost specialists. When the hunt was lucky, the tusks of the elephant belonged to the chief, but the meat was divided according to special rule. I have heard it said that the heart, neck, hind legs, and intestines went to the magician, the front legs to the man who first struck the elephant, the back to the man who struck the second, and the chest to the hunter who was the third to wound the animal. Another informant told me that the leg, the liver, the heart, and the brain went to the chief, one front leg to the *icibinda*, and the others to the hunter who wounded the beast. One hundred hairs from the elephant's tail also had to be given to the chief.

Nowadays a few native elephant hunters go out as individuals at the behest of the Government or a chief. They own their own magic and win a high reputation in the community. It seems that a larger proportion of the meat now goes to the chief of the district, who no longer is able to keep the ivory for himself.

Besides the specialist magic of the *icibinda*, elephant charms are complex and of multiple forms. Charms to bring luck to the hunter are sold at high prices (£1 to £5). Sympathetic magic such as the spiking of the dung of the elephant to prevent him moving, or knotting grass across his path to stop his escape is common. Women can affect the fortunes of their hunting husbands by their fidelity or the reverse. Men who kill elephants must be purified

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Men who Kill elephants must be purified

by special medicines (*umufinsa*, *umusaka*, *katumbi*, *kaloyansofu*, *umwenge*, &c.), and medicines are also placed on the head of the dead animal to prevent its *icibanda* returning to make the hunter mad. Further dangers await the man who sees the nerve of an elephant tusk before killing three elephants, and by this means becomes impotent. Such multifarious beliefs and rites could only be analysed properly in a treatise on Bantu magic, but they reflect the intense excitement of the people in the elephant hunt and all that pertains to it.

To conclude, hunting is the romance and delight of Bemba life, not a simple food-producing activity or even a very efficient one. The native hunts for food, but he hunts whether he gets game or not. Like other products of the bush, the supply of meat depends, in Bemba eyes, on the blessing of the spirits secured through the chief and hence it is subject to tribute, but the amount obtained is not sufficiently large for the development of complicated rights of economic ownership. Specialist hunters of the larger game existed, but few are still to be found. More magic surrounds the different forms of hunting than any other economic pursuit.

The former make millet gardens on such land as is clear of water and subsequently plant mounded cassava. Such a two-year sequence may be continued for several years, but many groups abandon cultivation after the first two years. Village gardens are also planted with cassava, and bananas and pineapples are grown. In such gardens, made on low sandbanks denuded of soil by years of cultivation, cassava seldom grows to full maturity owing to the hunger of the cultivators. Some people make an annual migration to the Lunga plain to plant millet, others barter fish for meal. Very little in the way of subsidiary crops is found beyond a little Kaffir corn, some beans and sweet potatoes. In the territory of Chief Kasoma(1) the people make a mass migration to cultivable areas in the dry season, June to November.

The *Twa* cultivate little, relying mainly on their fishing with which they get meal by trading. A certain amount of cassava cultivation is found here and there.

HUNTING AND FISHING

While every Bemba is a hunter by inclination, present shortage of game prevents this desire from being fully gratified. While Melland(2) records the existence of organized hunters' guilds and specialized hunters among the Kaonde these do not at present exist among the Bemba, although elephant hunters formerly were specialists. Hunting by traps and pits is neither an organized nor a specialized activity. Net hunting demands communal effort and is often carried out as a form of divination. There is little information on the hunting activities of the other groups; among the swamp peoples (Unga, Twa, Bisa) hunting is subordinated to fishing but the meat of a certain antelope (*lechwe*) was greatly in demand and these animals were hunted so persistently that a protection law has only prevented, recently, their extinction. There was a certain amount of trade in *lechwe* skins worked in designs.

Fishing is not a major activity, though fish is greatly appreciated as a relish and caught whenever possible. There is no regular trade in fish, nor is fishing a whole-time occupation except for certain groups living on the banks of the larger rivers, where there are definite fishing villages with permanent sites where fishing is carried on all the year round, and there is quite a complex system of pond and weir ownership.

Fish are caught by three chief methods: by poisoning, by weirs and by nets. Poisoning is a communal and unskilled activity carried out at the end of the dry season (August-November). Weirs are only in use in November and December before the crocodiles become a menace. Only one type of net is used, a rectangular variety, stretched across the river, at the beginning and end of the dry season.

It is among the swamp peoples, however - the Unga, Twa and, to a lesser extent, the Bisa - that fishing attains greatest importance. Here the land resources are so depleted, by the over-cultivation of areas which are diminishing in size through increasing inundation, that the growing population

(1) Brelsford, S, 1946. (2) Melland, 1923.

231 encouraged and there are now a few herds in the valley. Horses and mules are lacking. The donkey ridden by Gamitto when he made his entry in 1830 was the first of the species to be seen in the country.(1) The villagers keep poultry and some small stock, mainly goats and sheep.

FISHING

226 Fish abound in the Luapula, the riverside lagoons and Lakes Mweru and Mofwe. Livingstone collected the vernacular names of thirty-nine species caught in Lake Mweru.(2) Some fishing goes on all the year round but the season, when the men move to the fishing camps on the river islands, extends from September to January. In the shallow marshland pools the fish are speared while laying their eggs. In flowing water they are trapped in conical wickerwork baskets set in rocky falls or in the openings in a weir.(3) On Lake Mweru they are caught from canoes with hook and line. On the Luapula the people go out in their dugouts at night and drive the fish into seine-nets (*ubukonde*) by hitting the surface of the water with wooden discs attached to poles.(4) Large-scale fishing is done with [177] drag-nets (*umukwau*) which require several men to pull them. Formerly nets were made by men from barkcloth cord. Nowadays nylon and cotton nets are [278] used. Vegetable poisons and stupefacients, now banned, were employed in the past.

HUNTING

223 Hunting and fowling are spare-time activities. Elephants and buffa-
● 224 loes, which in Livingstone's time used to be chased into the Mofwe mudflats during the rainy season and killed in great numbers,(5) are no longer found in Kazembe's country though some still remain on the Belgian Congo side. [411] Large herds of lechwe antelope roam the swamp country beyond the inhabited belt. Fire-arms have displaced the traditional weapons.

DIET

251 The basic foodstuffs are cassava(6) and fish. Game, poultry, fruit
252 and wild bees' honey, supplement the diet. Cassava is soaked in water, peeled and sun-dried for storing. The root, after being pounded and ground
262 on a stone, is made into porridge and flavoured with groundnuts or other
273 relish. Sweet cassava is eaten roasted.(7) Fish is consumed fresh or dried, game fresh or smoked. Fish, when dried in the sun or over a fire, will keep for three months. Water-lily roots, on which, according to tradition, the aboriginal pygmies fed, are considered a delicacy. Native-made alcoholic beverages were millet beer(8) (still made), *Borassus* palm wine, mead(9) and a spirit distilled from maize.(10) Oil is expressed from palm
276 fruit(11) and from groundnuts and vinegar used to be made from bananas.(12) Tobacco is taken as snuff and smoked in pipes.(13) *Bhang* (hemp), was

(1) Burton, op.cit., p.252.
(2) Livingstone, op.cit., p.245.
(3) Brelsford, 2, 1947, pp.70, 71.
(4) Holmes, 1925, p.26.
(5) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.248, 276, 299.
(6) Burton, op.cit., p.40.
(7) ibid., p.101.
(8) ibid., p.43.
(9) Gamitto, II, p.26; Valdez, II, p.246.
(10) Bowdich, p.91.
(11) Livingstone, op.cit., pp.243, 278.
(12) ibid, p.272.
(13) ibid., p.251; Gamitto, I, p.401.

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(c) Economic Background. The Bemba are an agri-

cultural people

like most of the Central Bantu group to which they belong. They keep no cattle. Tsetse-fly at present prevents their keeping stock over most of the country, but in any case they seem to have no pastoral traditions, whatever they may have had formerly. Thus they have no means of storing wealth as have the Southern Bantu. Their marriage contracts are fulfilled by service and not by the passage of cattle. In the old days military glory and the extraction of tribute from conquered peoples seems to have been the dominant ambition of the Bemba chiefs, and their wealth consisted in the size of their following and the amount of service they were able to command. This fact profoundly influences their position at the present day (cf. p. 116).

The soil of most of this district is poor and it has not attracted white settlement. The staple crop is finger millet (*eleusine corecana*), while some kafir corn, a little maize, legumes, and pumpkins are also grown. The people practise shifting cultivation of a primitive type, and the plentiful supply of land and the lack of any localized natural resources which might attract the inhabitants to settle in one area rather than another all affect the political system. As has been shown, they decrease the strength of local ties as against political or kinship affiliations, and they account for the fact that the power to distribute land is not an important prerogative of leadership in distinction to conditions in most Southern Bantu tribes.

Hunting and fishing contribute a small share of the food-supply only. Organized marketing does not exist, and under modern conditions no cash crop has been found for this area. This fact, together with the absence of opportunities for local employment, forces the adult male population to look for work outside the tribal area, with resultant effects, as will be seen, on the political system of the tribe.

(*d*) *White Administration*. The type of white administration introduced in this area is described on pp. 112–20.

III. Bases of Authority

The positions of leadership in Bemba society consist of the following offices: (*a*) *territorial rulers* (chiefs and headmen); (*b*) *administrative officers and councillors*; (*c*) *priests, guardians of sacred shrines, and magic specialists with economic functions*; (*d*) *army leaders* in the old days. Succession to all these offices is

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legal rights of the two rivals, and the rather complex machinery of tribal deliberation on such matters (cf. p. 109) was not called into motion.

The chart also shows clearly the way in which certain chieftainships have also tended to become fixed in different family lines of this main branch of the *Bena ŋandu* even during the last four generations, i.e. the Mwambaship, the Nkolemfumuship, the Mpepoship in the line of the chieftainess Mukukamfumu, and the Nkulaship, the Cikwandaship, and the Ceweship in the line of Nakasafye. The separation between these two branches will probably become wider and wider with time. In the case of the outlying sub-chieftainships, this separation off of local family lines of the royal clan has proceeded even further. To conclude, there are definite rules of succession according to Bemba kinship but the type of matrilineal succession usually provides two or three possible heirs, and in the case of the bigger chieftainships there are a number of different factors, such as the paramount's control over the more important *ifyalo*, the traditional order of succession to different offices, local feeling in the case of sub-chieftainships, and last, but not by any means a negligible point, the personal qualities of the candidates themselves.

IV. Functions and Prerogatives of Leadership

The functions of the territorial heads, i.e. chiefs and headmen, seem to be derived from two sources—the position of the leader as head of a kinship group and his role as the representative of a line of dead ancestors in a particular district. In the case of a headman, these two aspects are indistinguishable, while the latter predominates where a chief is concerned.

(*a*) *The Headman.* Bemba headmen are described as looking after, keeping, or actually 'herding the people' (*ukuteka bantu*). As senior kinsman of most of the villagers, a headman is responsible for the discipline of the children and young people; he hears cases informally and directs some economic activities. There are few activities carried out by the whole community in common except fishing and hunting, but besides organizing these latter pursuits a good headman initiates each new agricultural process and encourages and criticizes the younger men and women. Land is not often a matter of dispute in this area. The headman does not allot individual plots, but listens to cases should any arise. He is said to

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differ only in degree. All are said to look after their people, to 'work the land', and, with reference to their supernatural powers, to 'spit blessings over the land' (*ukufunga mate*). Their political duties consist in the administration of their capitals and also of their territories as a whole. A large *umusumba* means plenty of coming and going, enough workers for joint enterprises, a large panel of advisers for court cases, many messengers to keep in touch with the surrounding villages—in short, the possibility of keeping the tribal machine running. To maintain and even augment such a community by his popularity and his reputation for generosity is one of the chief's important political tasks. He has also to keep contact with the people widely dispersed over his *icalo* and to appoint new headmen, amalgamate old villages, and decide as to the selection of heirs to old titles. On his success in these last duties the integration of his people as a political unit largely depends.

As a judicial authority, the chief presides over his court with advisers selected from his village, and in the old days he alone could hear charges of witchcraft and, in the case of the greater territorial chiefs, put the accused to the poison ordeal (*mwafi*). In the economic sphere, he initiates agricultural activities by performing the customary ceremony before each begins; he makes big gardens with the aid of tribute labour from which he is able to fill large granaries and thus find the wherewithal to feed his following; he controls directly certain fishing and hunting enterprises: and he criticizes and directs the gardening work of his own villagers.[1]

The ritual duties of a chief consist in the observation of the taboos for the protection of his own person and the safety of the sacred relics at his disposal, and the carrying out of a number of rites for the sake of his whole *icalo*—in the case of the paramount, for the whole tribe. These last consist of economic rites, tree-cutting, sowing, and first-fruit ceremonies, those performed in case of national calamity, and for success in war in the old days. He was formerly bound to protect the people from witches and used to employ a special doctor at his court to destroy, by burning, the bodies of those found guilty of this offence.

In the old days the chief organized military expeditions,

[1] cf. my *Land, Labour, and Diet in Northern Rhodesia* (1939), chap. xiii, for a full account of the chief's economic powers.